1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

had been able to measure 100 instead of only 50 Bison-horn Marias, their measurements might have averaged the same as those of the 100 Hill Marias measured. Yet from the data obtained we can fairly say that on the average both Hill and Bison-horn Marias are dolichocephalic, hypsicephalic, mesorrhinic (leaning towards platyrrhinic), europrosopic and medium-statured peoples.

What is the cause of the mesocephalic and mesorrhinic elements actually present in both the peoples? Is it not the outcome of the mixture of the dolichocephalic and brachycephalic elements on the one hand, and the leptorrhine and platyrrhine elements on the other, actually present in both? The dolichocephaly and platyrrhiny, the dark brown skin and other elements are probably the real characteristics of these pre-Dravidian (proto-Australoid) peoples. But how are we to explain the small proportion of leptorrhiny and brachycephaly and the large and mutually equal proportions of europrosopy, leptoprosopy and mesoprosopy in these two predominantly dolichocephalic and mesorrhine peoples?

Racial Affinities

Dr. Haddon[1] finds in the original pre-Dravidian Gond a Pareocan strain, which causes the brachycephalic head form, the broad prognathous face and the occasional obliquity of the eye-slits.[2] As against this theory it may be pointed out that there is an absence of the true epicanthic fold (at least I have found none), and of the yellowish skin, which are the main characteristics of the Pareocans.[3] Moreover, the leptorrhine element in the Hill and Bison-horn Marias cannot be explained by such an assumption.

It is interesting to note that a good percentage of Marias also conform to Dr. Haddon's Dravidian[4] group in all essential characteristics, namely dolichocephaly, medium stature, oval face, mesorrhiny, plentiful wavy or curly hair, and brown skin of varying shades.

[1] Haddon, *Races of Men*, 1929, p. 20.

[2] Cf. Hutton, *India Census Report*, 1931, Vol. I: 'It also seems possible that the vague suggestion of the mongoloid, which is so often given by the appearance of the hillmen of Chota Nagpur, of Bastar State in the Central Provinces and of the Madras Agency tracts, may be due to a strain of Pareocan blood which has come in by sea from the east. One is insistently reminded in these areas of the Assam hill tribes, and both Haddon and Buxton have drawn attention to this strain, which struck the present writer quite independently and contrary to his expectations; and the admitted proto-australoid element in these tribes is no obstacle to this, since it must have extended at some period through what is now the archipelago to the Australian Continent, apart from the probability of its absorption on the mainland.'

[3] Haddon, *ibidem*, p. 31.

[4] Ibidem, p. 21.

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
Muria

142 epicanthic fold were found in one or both eyes. Among the Hill Muria observed at Markabera, light brown skin colour, high cheek bones and the unmistakable presence of the epicanthic fold were also noticed.

● 144 'Taking all the characters together, I am inclined to the view that the Muria are not different from the Bhil of the Vindhyan ranges measured by me and belong essentially to what we have termed the Proto-Australoid group. While this is really the basic-type, it is possible that they have absorbed a little of the blood of a finer racial type (as a result probably of their contact with higher caste Hindus across the Godavari) as shown in the occasional occurrences of a longish face, thin lips, prominent chin and well-developed prominent nose. In addition there is unmistakably a Mongoloid element, though very small, and it appears to be more marked in the Hill Maria and the Muria of the foothills than the Muria of the plains. How exactly this has to be accounted for, remains to be seen but I am inclined to agree with Hutton that the intrusion probably came from the eastern coastal regions.'

V. Muria Migrations

174 As we have seen, there are probably at least three different elements in the composition of the Muria tribe. The first is the Hill Maria migration from the mountains into the hills and forests of the south and east, from which has emerged the Jhoria of today. The second is a probable migration of Gond from the Central Provinces into the northern parganas, to which testify common traditions, the legend of Lingo and the continued intermarriage between Kanker Gond and Bastar Muria. The third element is that of east Kondagaon, which may represent the true Bastar autochthon, where the Muria —having been longer in the country than the others—have lost more of their original customs and language.

173 All three elements have traditions of migrations from Warangal in the south and Lanji-Dhamda in the north. Many try to blend the two.

Warangal is, of course, the original home of the ruling family of Bastar, whose ancestors reigned there from about A.D. 1150 to 1425. This Kakatiya family was probably originally feudatory to the Chalukya kings and only later ruled independently. 'Pratap Rudra, the greatest and the last independent Kakatiya king of Warangal, lost his life and independence in battle with the Mohammedan invaders of the Deccan under Ahmad Shah Bahmani early in the fifteenth century and, according to Bastar tradition and folk-song, his brother Annam Deo fled across the Godavari into Bastar, which had been an outlying and loosely-held group of feudal dependencies of Warangal.'[1]

It will be of interest to give a few of the stories still current in Muria villages. Suko Manjhi told me at Bandopal that his family first lived in Lanji-Dhamda and then went to Warangal. In Warangal, he went on,

> The Raja was one day going to court when Danteshwari Mai appeared to him in a vision saying, 'Where are you going?' The Raja replied, 'To my court'. The goddess said, 'This is not your court, nor your kingdom. I will show you where your real kingdom is; if you stay here both house and kingdom will be lost. Come with me; you go ahead and I will follow, but do not look behind; your kingdom will extend as far as you can go!' The Raja went on and on into Bastar and up as far as the Pairi river where there is now the Kanker boundary. As he went along he listened all the time to the sound of Danteshwari

[1] Grigson, op. cit., p. 3.

INTRODUCTION

101 NO aboriginal people of India has attained greater prominence on the political scene of past centuries than the large group of tribes commonly known by the generic term Gond. When the mist that still veils long periods in the history of the Deccan finally lifts, Gonds appear not only as the main population of wide areas in the very heart of India, described after them as Gondwana, but also as a ruling race equal in power and material status to many contemporary Hindu princes. Lacking unity and leadership the Gond states collapsed before the successive onslaughts of Moghul and Maratha armies, but the Gond populations remained, the old feudal system continued to function in [21] many remote tracts and several Gond rajas enjoy up to this day the status of ruling chiefs. But besides the advanced sections of the Gonds who vied with Hindus in the fields of war and statesmanship, there were and still are the great masses of primitive peasants and forest dwellers on a cultural level no higher than that of other aboriginal populations in the Central Indian zone. Of their economics, social organization and religion, historical sources tell us next to nothing, and the study of Gond culture, as a distinct element in the culture pattern of India, falls to the anthropologist, who finds an almost overwhelming wealth of material among the many vigorous branches of the Gond family.

184 101 [19] Spread over an area considerably larger than the British Isles and extending from the Godavari gorges in the south to the Vindhya Mountains in the north, the Gonds are neither racially, nor culturally, nor linguistically a homogeneous population. So great are the differences in custom and material circumstances between many of the widely scattered tribal groups that one may well wonder what causes them to be considered, and indeed to consider themselves, as members of the same race. Wherever we find Gonds, unless they are totally detribalized and merged with Hindu populations, they describe themselves as Gond or, if speaking Gondi, as Koitur, the universal equivalent of that name in all Gondi dialects. Were it not for those large groups of eastern Gonds, who speak Chhattisgarhi Hindi, the Gonds in the north-west of the Central Provinces, who speak western Hindi and the far smaller groups of Telugu speaking Gonds, better known as Koyas, in Hyderabad and Madras Presidency, it would probably be most satisfactory to replace, at least in ethnological usage, the general name "Gond" by the term "Gondi speaking populations," thus leaving it open whether there exists such an entity as a Gond people or only a group of peoples who to-day speak related languages. Indeed, I believe that we shall fail in